

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES
REGISTRATION FORM

This form is for use in nominating or requesting determinations for individual properties and districts. See instructions in How to Complete the National Register of Historic Places Registration Form (National Register Bulletin 16A). Complete each item by marking "x" in the appropriate box or by entering the information requested. If any item does not apply to the property being documented, enter "N/A" for "not applicable." For functions, architectural classification, materials, and areas of significance, enter only categories and subcategories from the instructions. Place additional entries and narrative items on continuation sheets (NPS Form 10-900a). Use a typewriter, word processor, or computer, to complete all items.

1. Name of Property

historic name Paoli Battlefield Site and Parade Grounds

other names/site number Paoli Massacre Site

2. Location

street & number Warren and Monument Avenues, Sugartown Road

not for publication N/A city or town Malvern


vicinity N/A

state Pennsylvania code PA county Chester code 029

zip code 19355

3. State/Federal Agency Certification

As the designated authority under the National Historic Preservation Act of 1986, as amended, I hereby certify that this x nomination request for determination of eligibility meets the documentation standards for registering properties in the National Register of Historic Places and meets the procedural and professional requirements set forth in 36 CFR Part 60. In my opinion, the property x meets does not meet the National Register Criteria. I recommend that this property be considered significant nationally statewide x locally. (See continuation sheet for additional comments.)

 Dr. B. Glass, Exec. Dir.
Signature of certifying official

Sept. 11, 1997

Date

PA Historical and Museum Commission
State or Federal agency and bureau

In my opinion, the property meets does not meet the National Register criteria. (See continuation sheet for additional comments.)

Signature of commenting or other official

Date

State or Federal agency and bureau

4. National Park Service Certification

I hereby certify that this property is:

☐ entered in the National Register _____
(See continuation sheet).
☐ determined eligible for the _____
National Register
(See continuation sheet).
☐ determined not eligible for the _____
National Register
☐ removed from the National Register _____
☐ other (explain): _____

Signature of Keeper

Date of Action

5. Classification

Ownership of Property (Check as many boxes as apply)

☒ private
☐ public-local
☐ public-State
☐ public-Federal

Category of Property (Check only one box)

☐ building(s)
☐ district
☒ site
☐ structure
☐ object

Number of Resources within Property

Contributing	Noncontributing	
<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	buildings
<u>2</u>		sites
	<u>3</u>	structures
<u>5</u>	<u>1</u>	objects
<u>9</u>	<u>6</u>	Total

Number of contributing resources previously listed in the National Register 0

Name of related multiple property listing (Enter "N/A" if property is not part of a multiple property listing.) N/A

6. Function or Use

Historic Functions (Enter categories from instructions)

Cat: Defense	Sub: Battle Site
Funerary	Graves/burial
Domestic	Single Dwelling
Recreation/Culture	Monument/marker
Agriculture	Agricultural field

Current Functions (Enter categories from instructions)

Cat: Funerary	Sub: Graves/burial
Recreation/Culture	Monument/marker
Landscape	Park
Domestic	Single Dwelling
Agriculture	Agricultural field

7. Description

Architectural Classification (Enter categories from instructions)

Late 19th and 20th Century Revivals/Colonial Revival
No style

Materials (Enter categories from instructions)

foundation	Stone
roof	Asphalt, wood/shingle
walls	Stone/limestone, log
	Brick
other	

Narrative Description (Describe the historic and current condition of the property on one or more continuation sheets.) See continuation sheets.

8. Statement of Significance

Applicable National Register Criteria (Mark "x" in one or more boxes for the criteria qualifying the property for National Register listing)

- ☒ A Property is associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of our history.
- ☐ B Property is associated with the lives of persons significant in our past.
- ☐ C Property embodies the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction represents the work of a master, or possesses high artistic values, or represents a significant and distinguishable entity whose components lack individual distinction.
- ☐ D Property has yielded, or is likely to yield information important in prehistory or history.

Criteria Considerations (Mark "X" in all the boxes that apply.)

- ☐ A owned by a religious institution or used for religious purposes.
- ☐ B removed from its original location.
- ☐ C a birthplace or a grave.
- ☐ D a cemetery.
- ☐ E a reconstructed building, object, or structure.

X F a commemorative property.

 G less than 50 years of age or achieved significance within the past 50 years.

Areas of Significance (Enter categories from instructions)

 Military

Period of Significance 1777
 1817 - 1947

Significant Dates 1777
 1897

Significant Person (Complete if Criterion B is marked above)

 N/A

Cultural Affiliation N/A

Architect/Builder Windrim, John T.
 Hughes, Palmer C.

Narrative Statement of Significance (Explain the significance of the property on one or more continuation sheets.) See Continuation sheets.

9. Major Bibliographical References

(Cite the books, articles, and other sources used in preparing this form on one or more continuation sheets.) See continuation sheets

Previous documentation on file (NPS)

- preliminary determination of individual listing (36 CFR 67) has been requested.
- previously listed in the National Register
- previously determined eligible by the National Register
- designated a National Historic Landmark
- recorded by Historic American Buildings Survey # _____
- recorded by Historic American Engineering Record # _____

Primary Location of Additional Data

 State Historic Preservation Office

 X Other State agency

 X Federal agency

 X Local government

 University

 X Other

Name of repository: Historical Society of Pennsylvania
 David Library of American Revolution
 Chester County Historical Society

10. Geographical Data

Acreage of Property 62.2

UTM References (Place additional UTM references on a continuation sheet)

	Zone	Easting	Northing	Zone	Easting	Northing
1	18	455080	4431100	3	18	455100 4430100
2	18	456380	4431360	4	18	456400 4430840

 See continuation sheet.

Verbal Boundary Description (Describe the boundaries of the property on a continuation sheet.)

See Continuation Sheet

Boundary Justification (Explain why the boundaries were selected on a continuation sheet.)

See Continuation Sheet

11. Form Prepared By

name/title Jane L. S. Davidson, Heritage Preservation Coordinator
and Thomas J. McGuire, Historian

organization Chester County Parks and Recreation Department date 27 May 1997

street & number Suite 160, 601 Westtown Road telephone 610-344-6415

city or town West Chester state PA zip code 19382-4534

Additional Documentation

Submit the following items with the completed form:

Continuation Sheets

Maps

A USGS map (7.5 or 15 minute series) indicating the property's location.

A sketch map for historic districts and properties having large acreage or numerous resources.

Photographs

Representative black and white photographs of the property.

Additional items (Check with the SHPO or FPO for any additional items)

Property Owner

(Complete this item at the request of the SHPO or FPO.)

name Paoli Memorial Association, % William R. Shoemaker
C.C.I.D.A, % Malvern Preparatory School

street & number 266 Boot Road telephone 215-977-6815
418 South Warren Avenue 610-644-5454

city or town Malvern state PA zip code 19355

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Section 7 Page 1

Paoli Battlefield Site and Parade Grounds
Chester County, PA

The Paoli Battlefield Site and Parade Grounds, containing sixty-two acres, is situated in the Borough of Malvern, Chester County and consists of two adjoining parcels. In 1777 these parcels represented the northern portions of two farms and were the location of the heaviest action of the battle. As historically separate land parcels they have been counted as two contributing sites. The eastern parcel, identified in this nomination as the Battlefield Site, is approximately 40 acres and consists of a forested ravine and slope which rises sharply to a plateau containing a plowed field surrounded by woods. The field is surrounded by woods on its eastern, northern, and southern sides, and connects to the Parade Grounds on its western side. The western parcel is the 22 acre Parade Grounds, established in 1822, which includes a small walled burial mound, various memorial monuments, manicured fields, two baseball grandstands, and administrative buildings. These resources (all located on the Parade Grounds) include two contributing buildings, five contributing objects, two non-contributing buildings, three non-contributing structures, and one non-contributing object. Although the area is surrounded by educational institutions and residential developments in a town setting, the property retains integrity. The forested ravine, slope, and field surrounded by woods retain the feeling of the time of the battle. Thoughtful planning and careful maintenance by numerous generations through the decades ensured retention of the Parade Grounds' character and appearance as a memorial to those who have served our country.

CONTRIBUTING SITES

1. Paoli Battlefield Site - As defined in this nomination the Paoli Battlefield Site consists of the undeveloped landscape parcel of approximately 40 acres which sits to the east of the Parade Grounds.

2. Paoli Parade Grounds - The Parade Grounds make up a park setting composed of manicured fields, two baseball grandstands, memorial monuments and the burial mound. The burial mound is located on the line of a former fencerow separating the cornfield from the Parade Grounds. A parged, fieldstone wall, 20'2" X 65'5" and 4'3" high, surrounds the mound and monument. The stone wall, rebuilt in 1964, is sheltered from the weather with a two foot wide wood, flat roof that extends over both sides of the stone wall. Its random width, tongue and groove boards are slanted towards the burial mound and obelisk. Entrance to the mound and obelisk is accommodated via an opening in the west wall which is secured by a three foot wide wrought iron gate. Two Revolutionary War era cannons from Warwick Furnace, 6'7" in length, flanking the gate complete the setting.

A curved interior drive with eastern and western entrances from Monument Avenue facilitates accessibility to all of the Parade Grounds. Resources are clustered by use on the Parade Grounds contiguous to Monument Avenue: 19th and 20th century commemorative monuments; management facilities; and recreational facilities. The management resources for the Parade Grounds, consisting of the caretaker's house and

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garage and the Paoli Memorial Association Building are adjacent to the interior drive's eastern entrance.

The following commemorative monuments and signage are placed nearby along the drive from east to west: grandstand platform, interpretive sign, World War II urn, 1877 obelisk, and World War II monument. The World War I monument is on the other side of the drive diagonally across from the 1877 obelisk. Several acres of lawn separate the cemetery, monument and management resources from the recreational facilities, of which the latter are clustered between the interior drive's western entrance and the intersection of Sugartown Road and Monument Avenue in the property's northwest corner.

CONTRIBUTING OBJECTS

3. Paoli Massacre Monument - contributing: 1817

A marble monument, dated 1817, and encased in a translucent box, stands on the center of the burial mound. The monument inscription is worn and the surface is pitted with marks attributed to recreational musket fire from militia bivouacked on the Parade Grounds during the Civil War. A square marble base supports a tapered monument, 6'5" tall.

Inscriptions are etched on each of the monument's four sides which describe the battle and its aftermath as follows: 1) "Sacred to the memory of the PATRIOTS who on this spot fell a sacrifice to British barbarity during the struggle for American Independence, on the night of the 20th of September, 1777"; 2) "THE ATROCIOUS MASSACRE which this stone commemorates was perpetuated by British troops under the immediate command of MAJOR-GENERAL GREY"; 3) "Here repose the remains of fifty-three AMERICAN SOLDIERS, who were the victims of cold-blooded cruelty in the well known "MASSACRE AT THE PAOLI," while under the command of GENERAL ANTHONY WAYNE, an officer whose military conduct, bravery and humanity, were equally conspicuous throughout the REVOLUTIONARY WAR"; 4) THIS MEMORIAL in honor of REVOLUTIONARY PATRIOTISM was erected SEPTEMBER 20th, 1817 by the REPUBLICAN ARTILLERISTS of CHESTER COUNTY aided by the Contributions of their Fellow Citizens".

4. Paoli Massacre obelisk - contributing: 1877

A Quincy granite monument, 28' tall, was erected in 1877, the centennial anniversary of the battle. Located to the west of the original 1817 monument and flanked by monuments from World War II, its tapered obelisk shaft is supported by a square base divided into three sections. Inscriptions from the original 1817 monument are reproduced on three of the monument's sides while it is noted on the fourth side that the new monument was "Erected by the citizens of Chester and Delaware Counties, September 20, 1877, being THE CENTENNIAL ANNIVERSARY of the Paoli Massacre."

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5. World War I monument - contributing: 1928

A rectangular, stone monument is located on the interior of the curved drive and diagonally across from the 1877 monument and was erected in honor of those men who served during World War I who lived in the vicinity. Measuring 4'3" by 6'10" and 2'4" deep, its front face possesses a vertical bronze plaque, 2' by 3' with the following inscription: "The men of the Borough of Malvern and the Townships of East and West Whiteland, Willistown and East and West Goshen who served in the World War." The names of twelve deceased men are listed followed by the names of 173 men who served divided into three columns.

6. World War II urn - contributing: c1946

Diagonally across from the World War I monument, a small stone, carved in the shape of an urn, is located between the 1877 monument and the interpretive sign. Measuring 2'10" high and 1'4" in diameter, it is supported by a small base and contains a simple inscription: "World War II."

7. World War II monument - contributing: c1946

The stone monument is located diagonally across from the World War I monument on the south side of the curved drive and west of the 1877 obelisk. Similar in configuration to the World War I monument, it measures 3' by 6' and is 1'2" deep. The polished front facade contains an inscription followed by the names of five men who died in World War II.

CONTRIBUTING BUILDINGS

8. Caretaker's house - contributing: 1922

The one story, Colonial Revival bungalow, designed by George W. Pepper Jr and John T. Windrim, is located on the south side of Monument Avenue and contiguous to the curved drive's eastern entrance to the Parade Grounds. Constructed of fieldstone and horizontal boards, the resource, 51'4" by 27', is three bays wide and "T" shaped with a gable roof. The front facade features a simple box cornice which is broken by an asphalt shingled, cross gabled hood over the centered main entrance. The recessed doorway is flanked by wood pilasters under horizontal brackets that support the hood. Each window on either side of the entrance contains 6/6 light double hung sashes highlighted by broad surrounds and vertical board solid shutters with a small triangle cutout in each shutter.

9. Caretaker's garage - contributing: c1922

One story garage, 18'4" by 20'2", is located between the caretaker's house and the Paoli Memorial Association's building. The rectangular shaped edifice with horizontal board,

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frame construction is four bays wide with a gable roof. Each set of the two garage openings is divided into two doors. These doors, located in the gable end, each contain six lights over three recessed panels.

NON-CONTRIBUTING BUILDINGS

10. Paoli Memorial Association Building - non-contributing: c1974

The one story resource, 29'9" X 18', is situated in back of the caretaker's house and visible from the curved drive. Utilitarian in architectural style, its frame construction has an asphalt shingled gambrel roof and twin entrances on the facade facing the curved drive.

11. Boy Scout Cabin - non-contributing: 1954

The three bay wide building 28'6" by 26', rectangular in shape, is located at the intersection of Monument Avenue and Sugartown Road, the property's most northwestern section. The one story log cabin with a steep pitch wood shingle roof has a one story, stucco leanto addition on the eastern elevation. Features include an exterior gable chimney, off centered main entrance protected by a small roof plus variable light arrangements in windows of six over six double hung sash or four light stationary apertures.

NON-CONTRIBUTING STRUCTURES

12. Large baseball field - non-contributing: c1950, 1990

The facility is found on the south side of Monument Avenue between the interior drive's western entrance and the second baseball field. A two story, common bond brick, equipment and refreshment center is flanked by open dugouts with asphalt roofs. Tall, wire screens protect small bleachers behind home plate and along first and third baselines.

13. Baseball field - non-contributing: c1950, 1983

The second baseball field is also located on the south side of Monument Avenue between the Boy Scout cabin and the aforementioned baseball field. A common bond brick retaining wall supports a large screen behind home plate. Built into the wall are below grade, brick dugouts with concrete roofs (flanking the screen) and a one story refreshment center (behind home plate).

14. Grandstand platform - non-contributing: 1968

The "U" shaped grandstand platform is situated next to the curved drive and near the patriot cemetery. Measuring 19'8" by 15'6" and three feet high, the three sides are

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constructed with three layers of limestones blocks, each block is approximately 25" by 19" by 13" in size. The stone tie blocks are from an abandoned Columbia and Philadelphia Railroad cut that had been constructed nearby in 1834. The stone assemblages are topped with iron rails from the railroad which can support a temporary platform for patriotic occasions as the need arises.

NON-CONTRIBUTING OBJECT

15. Interpretive sign - non-contributing: 1977

A large interpretive sign about the Paoli Battlefield and Parade Grounds is contiguous to the curved drive and near the grandstand platform and patriot cemetery. A wood shingle gable roof protects the 4'1 1/2" by 8'1" site map and interpretation which is supported by 5 1/2" square posts on each end.

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The Paoli Battlefield Site and Parade Grounds is significant in the area of Military History under Criterion A as for its association with a Revolutionary War battle. The period of significance is divided into two segments: 1777, the year of the event, and 1817-1947, when citizens developed the Parade Grounds, placing monuments thereon and holding ceremonies and anniversary programs to memorialize the site and later military conflicts. It is important locally for its association with the battle, which occurred the night of September 20 - 21, 1777, and which was the third major action in the unsuccessful Philadelphia Campaign to prevent the British capture of Philadelphia. At Paoli, an American encampment under the command of Brigadier General Anthony Wayne was attacked and routed by British troops in an action that came to be known by Americans as the Paoli Massacre. The Battlefield Site has remained in agricultural use since the time of the battle and retains integrity of location, setting, feeling and association. The Parade Grounds was also the location of battle action and contains the burial mound of American casualties. Set aside as a patriotic and commemorative property in the early nineteenth century, it primarily reflects locally shared perceptions of the character and honor bestowed upon veterans from the Revolutionary War to World War II. The present collection of 19th and 20th century monuments and landscaped grounds since their time of creation are cultural expressions by original participants and subsequent generations from the Borough of Malvern and surrounding communities to commemorate their understanding of the past. Therefore the nominated property meets Criteria Consideration F for commemorative properties.

SUMMARY HISTORY OF PROPERTY

The site's varied history from farmland to hallowed ground and community park spans a period of 220 years. In 1777 the site was part of the local, agrarian landscape. The encampment and attack site consisted of wooded hillside and two fields belonging to different farms between what is now Sugartown Road and Warren Avenue. Wayne's troops built their shelters in a cornfield on the east side of a fencerow dividing the two properties and placed their artillery and horses in the field on the west side of the fence. Second and third fence rows were located in the next field and along the Sugartown Road at the other end of the field.

The day after the battle civilians and Major Caleb North's men buried fifty-two American casualties along the fence row dividing the two properties; many of the American troops had backed up against this fence in the battle. The Republican Artillerists of Chester County used the 40th anniversary of the battle to erect on the grave a marble monument in honor of those who had served. While most of the battlefield area remained farm field and woods, in 1822 a 22 acre area including part of the burial mound (roughly the northern half of the field west of the fence) was sold to a local veterans' group as a parade ground. In the 20th century World War I and II monuments were added; the Paoli Memorial Association continued to improve the grounds with the construction of a

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caretaker's house and interpretive signage. Baseball fields and a Boy Scout cabin were constructed in the property's northwest corner during the 1950s.

The fields south of the Parade Grounds and east of the burial mound remained plowed land. In 1922 the land east of the burial mound was sold to the Augustinian Fathers of Villanova for the creation of Malvern Preparatory School. In the 1930s a strip of land along the northern edge of that property, between Warren and Wayne Avenues, was subdivided for residential development. Not until the late 1980s was the field south of the Parade Grounds subdivided for residential development. In 1996 the Paoli Battlefield Preservation Fund was created to purchase and preserve the ca 40 acre field, ravine, and slope on the east side of the burial mound from the Malvern Preparatory School.

SIGNIFICANCE AS MILITARY HISTORY

On September 18, 1777, prior to the battle, British forces marched eastward from Goshen and set up camp in the Great Valley from the Lancaster Road north to the Swedesford Road in Tredyffrin Township. Receiving word of a British advance, Wayne's troops moved to the heights above Warren Tavern and south of the Lancaster Road, where they encamped.¹

¹"General Wayne...took post on some high Ground above the Warren Tavern...the Right of his division toward Philadelphia (ie., eastward). In Part of the front was a small wood and a Corn Field - on the Right a small wood and some open fields - there were roads passing the flanks..." Unpublished collection: Peter Force Collection, Library of Congress, "Col. Thomas Hartley, Paper E, Court of Inquiry Documents, October 13-14, 1777, Series 9, conts 21-24, MSS 17, 137, Reel 104.

The camp arrangement from east to west (right flank to left flank) included Randall's Independent Company of Artillery with four light fieldpieces and thirty-seven personnel, the First Pennsylvania Brigade (1150 personnel) commanded by Col. Thomas Hartley, and the Second Pennsylvania Brigade (909 personnel), commanded by Col. Richard Humpton. The First Brigade was arranged RIGHT to LEFT as follows, with probable numbers indicated by an asterisk (*): 1st Pennsylvania Regiment (Chambers - 173*), 7th Pennsylvania Regiment (Grier - 325), Hartley's Additional Continental Regiment (Connor - 265*), 2nd Pennsylvania Regiment (Williams - 187), 10th Pennsylvania Regiment (Hubley - 200*). The Second Brigade from RIGHT to LEFT was arranged as follows: 8th Pennsylvania Regiment (Broadhead - 225*), 5th Pennsylvania Regiment (Johnston - 245), 11th Pennsylvania Regiment (Mentges - 202*), 4th Pennsylvania Regiment (Butler - 237*). The numbers cited for Randall's Artillery, 2nd, 5th, and 7th Regiments for September 1777 are taken from the Revolutionary War Muster Rolls, National Archives. The remaining numbers are averaged from Troop Returns of the Pennsylvania Line taken in June and November 1777 and published in the

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About 4 p.m. on the 20th the troops received an order to march; according to Col. Daniel Broadhead (8th Regiment - Humpton's Brigade), the division was formed, "but the weather being Cloudy and threatening Rain we were Ordered to build Booths to secure our Arms and Ammunition and got to Rest..."² Cornstalks and brush or tree limbs were used to construct the impromptu "booths" or "wigwams"; the fences were still up around much of the camp and Wayne's men rested in the booths behind two rows of campfires.

The attacking British force marched west on Swedesford Road with fixed bayonets. The British annihilated the picket post on Warren Avenue; the surviving pickets withdrew back to camp with the British in pursuit and found the camp already under arms and in the process of evacuation westward out of camp. Unfortunately for the Americans, as the artillery at the head of the column passed through openings in the fence rows in the next field and along Sugartown Road, the wheels fell off one of the gun limbers and disabled the vehicle, blocking the escape route of the infantry in the camp behind them.

The action of the battle was largely contained in the two fields of the encampment. When the British entered camp they saw the line of infantry clearly silhouetted against the campfires. In the ensuing bayonet charge some American troops panicked and ran in all directions, with the British in pursuit. The disorder spread up the American line as troops tried to reorder themselves to meet a bayonet charge. British dragoons also arrived on the field and shattered the American column in the darkness, confusion, and panic. While escaping American troops scattered through the surrounding woods, the main force of the battle remained at the campsite. British troops chasing fleeing individuals would give up pursuit, regroup, and charge at other Americans from the rear of the camp. Some British troops pursued fleeing Americans through and behind camp as far as Sugartown Road, then doubled back and hit other vulnerable targets, including the stalled wagon train. Only firm, disciplined groups of Continentals could resist; small groups of British tended to stay away from organized units.

A third British wave of assault came from the Royal Highland Regiment, which entered camp and completed the rout. The Highlanders busied themselves ferreting out stragglers and setting the brush and cornstalk booths ablaze. Some stragglers and wounded hid inside the booths and refused to come out, burning to death. Others who

Pennsylvania Archives, Series 2, Vol. 5 and 6, 1906.

²Peter Force Collection, Col Daniel Broadhead, Paper I/J.

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surrendered were cut down. Some were "hacked to pieces"; after the battle, American bodies were found with ten or more bayonet stabs.³

The next morning the air was filled with the stench of death and smoldering damp brush from the camp's "booths" or "wigwams", torched by the British. The civilians began the task of gathering the dead and digging a trench to bury them. Later that day, Major Caleb North (10th Pennsylvania) and four dragoons returned to the scene and helped to bury fifty-two dead; plausible tradition relates that a body was found in the woods some days later and interred.⁴ Whether these were all of the dead or just the dead found in the immediate vicinity is unknown.

Traumatic and terrible events tend to develop a life of their own, first from eyewitnesses and then from those who pass the story on, along with omissions, embellishments, exaggeration or sheer inventiveness. The first recorded tales which survive started only hours after the battle and come from Wayne's officers, who heard that their commander had received warning several hours in advance and did not take appropriate steps to guard the camp. Further, one of the pickets (nineteen sentinels) could not be found by the Brigade Major, who concluded that they had all been captured and carried off. Rumors flew, tempers seethed, mutual recriminations exchanged, and five days after the event Wayne requested a Court of Inquiry to bring the "accusors" out in the open.⁵

³Subsequently, British Captain John Montresor, Royal Engineers, Headquarters Staff, recorded in his journal: "Between 10 and 12 they fell in on the Rebel picket, between the Admiral Warren and the Paoli, which fired on them; they rushed in and put the whole of the picket to the Bayonet and then huzz'd which further alarmed the main body, however our troops rapidly advanced on their left, which were chiefly in their wigwams, and put between 4 or 500 of them to the Bayonet and the rest fled except about 100 that were taken prisoners, amongst which was a Major, and a French officer, and also 9 loaded waggons with 4 horses each, and brought off their cattle. Their General escaped and 4 pieces of Cannon through the woods. Our loss was a Captain of Light infantry, one Sergeant, and one Private killed, and 2 dragoons and 2 Light Infantry, and 3 Battalion men wounded." "Journal of Captain John Montresor, &c", Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography, Volume 6, 1882, p. 39.

⁴J. Smith Futhey and Gilbert Cope. History of Chester County, with Genealogical and Biographical Sketches. (Philadelphia: Louis H. Everts, 1881): p.86.

⁵Ibid, p. 89.

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From this Court of Inquiry comes the largest body of documentary evidence of what happened at Paoli, together with a manuscript drawn by Wayne himself. These papers, part of the Peter Force Collection in the Library of Congress, apparently have never before been published and have seen little or no use by historians.⁶ The Court of Inquiry papers containing the written testimony of fifteen officers, the detailed letter of Colonel Thomas Hartley and Lieutenant Colonel Adam Hubley written immediately before and after the battle (all in the Peter Force Collection), together with the Wayne Papers and several accounts from British officers present, provide the basis for documenting this battle. Analysis of the map and testimonies provide evidence on the event's location and landscape features, roads, fences, troop placement, "booth" construction and the battle itself correlates with British information and other cartographic material. Three period maps, one published in London in 1778 by an anonymous officer,⁷ one manuscript map by Captain John Andre (aid to General Grey),⁸ and the unpublished manuscript map drawn by Wayne for the Court of Inquiry provide ample cartographic evidence. Finally a painting rendered in London in 1782 by Xavier Della Gatta, based on detailed eyewitness descriptions by a British officer (probably Lieutenant Martin Hunter of Lieutenant Richard St. George, 2nd Battalion Light Infantry), provides an important visual record of the battle with American troops in their "booths" or "wigwams" constructed of corn stalks and brush.⁹

The Paoli Massacre was part of the military conflict between the British and American forces during the Revolutionary War's Philadelphia Campaign that led to the British occupation of Philadelphia and the American encampment at Valley Forge the ensuing winter, 1777-1778. The first two American attempts in one week to stop the British invasion that autumn were the Battle of Brandywine, September 11, 1777, and the aborted Battle of the Clouds, September 16, 1777. The Paoli Massacre was the part of the third effort to contain Howe's advance and prevent the capture of Philadelphia. Washington persisted in trying to contain Howe's advance and prevent the capture of Philadelphia, while shielding supply and manufacturing centers to the west (Lancaster,

⁶Peter Force Collection.

⁷"BRITISH CAMP AT TRUDRUFFRIN from the 18th to the 21st of September 1777 with the ATTACK made MAJOR GENERAL GREY against the REBELS near WHITE HORSE TAVERN, on the 20th of September. Drawn by an Officer on the Spot. Engrav'd and publish'd by W. Faden Charing Cross July 1st 1778."

⁸Henry Cabot Lodge, Andre's Journal, Boston: Bibliophile Society, 1903, opposite page 94. Original manuscript map and journal in Huntingdon Library, Anaheim, California.

⁹Manuscript map of Paoli Encampment by Anthony Wayne, Peter Force Collection, Library of Congress.

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Reading, northern Chester County, etc.). Troop placement in the wooded hillside was Brigadier General Anthony Wayne's attempt to compel British withdrawal through the use of offensive strategic maneuvers. This was done in the face of significant loss of men and material at Brandywine, retreat, regrouping, near total destruction of ammunition on September 16, and sheer exhaustion of poorly trained and equipped troops.

Not only was the action at Paoli part of an unsuccessful military operation, it was also part of a political struggle between the Continental Congress and the military high command for control of the Continental Army, in which the Congress and much of the public blamed incompetent and self-serving officers for the failure of the citizen army to repel the British. The scandal surrounding the "massacre" and Wayne's demand for an inquiry to clear his name was a part of this struggle. In the end Washington won this struggle with Congress by keeping control of the Army and focusing efforts on proper training for the troops; with the arrival of von Steuben at Valley Forge and the inauguration of training the Army began to take shape as a recognizable professional military force.

SIGNIFICANCE AS A COMMEMORATIVE PROPERTY

The Paoli Battlefield Site and Parade Grounds has sustained continuity for 220 years as a commemorative property focused on honoring all veterans and as hallowed grounds. Despite the passage of time and influences from subsequent wars and conflicts, each succeeding generation's commemoration perspective has evolved into their own agenda to maintain the property and to organize patriotic ceremonies and programs. In the twentieth century the community's effort to promote the general welfare of society was expanded to include active recreation programs.

For forty years, the mass grave was marked by an earth mound and a heap of stones. In 1817, through the efforts of Major Isaac Barnard of West Chester and numerous others, the "Republican Artillerists of Chester County" placed an inscribed marble monument on the grave. Present at the dedication was 82-year old Rev. David Jones, chaplain of the 1st Pennsylvania Brigade, long-time friend of General Anthony Wayne and survivor of the Paoli battle; unfortunately, his remarks were not recorded.¹⁰ No doubt other veterans and survivors were present, though documentation is elusive. Captain Isaac Wayne, son of the general, was also part of the ceremonies.

The local militia used the land to practice their drill routines and a few years later the Chester and Delaware Battalions of Volunteers received twenty-two acres and 110 perches from Cromwell and Mary Pearce "in trust as a place of parade for the use and benefit of all volunteer corps lawfully organized that have contributed towards the

¹⁰Futhey and Cope, p. 87.

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purchase of the same, or that may think proper to assemble."¹¹ Another ten perches were acquired from John and Barbara Griffith a decade later. Gradually the monument, wall and grounds fell into disrepair until in 1869 the Chester County Court of Common Pleas appointed another group of trustees.

The Parade Grounds continued to be a place of assembly. In the 1870s Capt. Gunkle's Washington Troop of Chester County cavalry wore uniforms for their target practice and mounted drills. On occasion they were joined by the Charlestown Cornet Band to honor President Washington's birthday. And on Independence Day 1875, the Centennial Minute Men of Chester County held a meeting on the grounds to plan the Paoli Battle's centennial anniversary; Dr. James Bayard Wood led the funding effort for a new monument. A wrought iron fence replaced the dilapidated stone wall, the 1817 monument was moved to the southern part of the mound and the new granite obelisk was erected upon the center of the tumulus. Civil War veterans from ten Companies along with the Griffin Battery and 8,000 to 10,000 people were present on September 20, 1877, for the monument dedication. Two years later two cannons that had been unearthed at Warwick Furnace were mounted in front of the mass grave.¹²

There was a recognition near the turn of the century for a more permanent entity to be responsible for the Parade Grounds. Past succeeding generations found it difficult to maintain the property when the various trustees had deceased without successors being appointed. Also, in recent years the local military organizations had become part of the National Guard with headquarters in Philadelphia and no longer paid attention to the Parade Grounds. On August 30, 1897, the Court of Common Pleas of Chester County granted a Charter and Certificate of Incorporation to organize the Paoli Memorial Association and in 1904 appointed the organization trustee of the lands.¹³

Although the leaders of the Paoli Memorial Association envisioned property improvements and better accessibility to the monuments, they lacked the necessary funds. On May 27, 1921, Governor William C. Sproul assisted the endeavor by authorizing \$15,000 in appropriations to complete the caretaker's house, construct a macadamized interior road, plant trees and shrubs and move the 1877 granite monument

¹¹West Chester, Recorder of Deeds, Miscellaneous Deed Book No. 2, p. 241.

¹²Gibbons G. Cornwell. "Introduction with Record of Trusteeship of the Paoli Parade Grounds." Paoli Memorial Association, (Malvern: Paoli Memorial Association, 1977), p. v.

¹³West Chester, Recorder of Deeds. Corporation Book No. 4, p. 234. Prothonotary. Miscellaneous Docket No. 9, p. 13.

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to a more central position on the property.¹⁴ During the same decade the Association gave permission for the American Legion to erect a monument diagonally across from the 1877 monument in honor of those who served in World War I. Civic pride engulfed the community as various social organizations and church groups held their picnics, celebrations, programs, anniversaries and ceremonies at this special place.

In the twentieth century the Paoli Memorial Association continued to provide substantial volunteer hours as the Parade Grounds evolved from two monuments commemorating the Paoli Battle and its casualties to a park setting with its tranquil, manicured landscape and a section for recreational facilities. In 1946 the people of Malvern began a fund-raising drive to erect a monument in honor of its World War II veterans; it was erected west of the 1877 obelisk. The following decade, Raymond S. Cox, secretary of the Paoli Memorial Association, organized a groundbreaking ceremony to build a log cabin in the property's northwest corner for Malvern's Boy Scout Troop. Two baseball fields were also constructed adjacent to the Boy Scout Cabin. Mr. Cox prevailed in his mission to improve the grounds with rebuilding the original stone wall surrounding the burial mound in 1964 and after becoming president of the organization, he also guided the construction of a grandstand platform built with fifty-eight stone tie blocks from the tracks of the Columbia and Philadelphia Railroad. The blocks were unearthed in a abandoned railroad cut in the northwest corner of the Borough of Malvern. Finally, in September 1977, the Paoli Battle's bicentennial, a permanent interpretation legend and map located near the monument collection were unveiled to educate all those who visit the property.

Although changes have taken place on the acreage, prudent and careful planning protected the Parade Grounds' serenity. All commemorative monuments are located in the southeastern part of the Parade Grounds along the curved drive, while the Boy Scout cabin and baseball fields in the northwestern part are separated from the monuments by about 10 acres of lawn. The view shed of the cornfield and woods from the burial mound is clearly defined without any obstruction. The terrain still conveys a sense of place as it relates to the fighting and troop movements. Finally, the contiguous collection of ravine, wooded areas, plowed field, 1777 burial mound with 1817 monument and other commemorative monuments is a cohesive group that commands patriotic respect.

¹⁴Commonwealth of Pennsylvania. Appropriation Acts, Session of 1921. No. 421-A, pp. 278-279.

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